2: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1937 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

352 built bed in the hall beside the fireplace has been common. But this custom
171 of bed is also known over a wider area along the North Sea. As to the outshot it is to be remarked that it must be compared with the outshots of English and Northwest European houses. Where the outshot tradition is natural to the house-types, the outshots are used for purposes and not only for beds.

In Donegal I have found *cailleachs* closed with wooden doors, similar to the built in beds of North-West Europe. The *cailleach* is cut off by curtains.

It has been mentioned that the dresser at an early stage of development has formed part of the partition. This and other facts (the dresser has generally a fixed traditional place, different in different parts of Ireland) seems to indicate that the dresser belongs — as in Scandinavia and West-European countries — to a rather old set of furniture.

The table however seems not to have any prominent place in the old-fashioned houses at least in Western and Northern Ireland. It is always put along a wall in primitive houses, and one can never sit round it. It never attracted the social activities of the house, and there are no ceremonies connected with the places at the table, as in countries where the table is the predominating social and family-centre. In this respect the table in Ireland has never supplanted the fireplace. There are no references, as far as I am told in the early tales to people feasting at the table. I think that the table
[184] does not belong to the original set of furniture. In many fishermen's dwel-
[264] lings in North-West of Donegal it is still missing. The people sit in front of the fireplace round the shallow-basket, *ciseog*, when eating, the basket resting upon the knees of the familymembers. This basket will be seen after dinner-time hanging to dry on the south wall of the house, pl. XLVIII: 2. I suppose this is the native and original "table", at least in certain cultural spheres of Western and Northern Ireland.

[113] [1] In a valuable article by Ludwig Mühlhausen, Contributions to the study of the concrete material culture of the Gaoltacht, Cork Arch. Soc. Vls. XXXVIII, p. 67, and XXXIX, p. 41, et sqq., is found a very good description of houses in Dingle Peninsula and Cornamona, Co. Galway. I have not come across any more detailed contribution to the study of the Irish house. From books of travel and novels some information can be picked up. See Béaloideas 1935. p. 57 sqq.

[14] [2] The material here presented has been collected by me during journeys in Ireland in the years 1934 and 1935. For the many facilities afforded me in pursuing my investigations in Ireland I must express my thanks to the Irish Folklore Commission and its Director Mr Séamus O'Duilearga, on whose behalf I undertook these studies. I am also grateful to my Irish friends both scholars and country people who kindly lent me their assistance. Here I can only mention Mr Seán O'Suilleabháin, B. A., and Miss Aine Ni Chróinín, M. A., especially for having supplied the Gaelic terms used by me.

[3] As to the Welsh long-houses the cruck construction seems to be an exception (see Peate p. 452).

[4] Cfr. Sigurd Erixon: Skansens Kulturgeschichtliche Abteilung, Führer. Stockholm 1928, p. 92.

[5] *Pinniuir*, f., a gable, a gable-end; fig. a patron, chief, etc. *pinniuir an tighe*, the house-gable, fig. the "head" of the house. Fr. pignon, Eng. pynum. Dinneen, An Irish-English Dictionary.

4:Hooton D-4,5 (1934-1936) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

ADDENDUM

From this Irish county series, as here discussed, all persons of Protestant religion have been omitted. The number thus excluded is 312 Presbyterians and 488 Church of Ireland, of these the vast majority come from the northern counties— Antrim, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal, Monaghan. Mr. Dupertuis directed this sorting because he was of the opinion that the Ulster Protestants really represent, in large part, a recent Scotch immigration, and the Church of Ireland English immigrations. In the final report on Ireland these northern Protestants will be included. They could hardly alter the distribution pictures perceptibly, except (possibly) in the counties mentioned.

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than 30 statute acres is regarded as small, one of from 30 to 100 acres as of medium size and one of over 100 acres as large. Small, medium and large farms may be found in all parts of Ireland, but in the provinces of Leinster and Munster and in parts of south east Connaught there is a preponderance of medium sized farms with, especially in north Leinster, a considerable proportion of large farms.[1] All this area practises mixed farming, but the south western province, Munster, is completely dominated by the milking cow, while in Leinster the northern half is mainly devoted to the raising of beef cattle, and the southern half produces considerable quantities of wheat, oats and barley.[2] In most areas of Connaught and Ulster, the western and northern provinces, the average farm is of small size, and the number of cows kept by each farmer correspondingly small; the value and productivity of these small farms, however, vary greatly from the intensive cultivation of many farms in east and south Ulster to the fisher-farmer economy of the west coastal districts.[3]

Throughout the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and in parts of east Connaught, that is to say, generally in the area of medium and large farms, the predominant, and in many districts exclusive, farmyard type is the courtyard, in which the dwelling house and outhouses are arranged about a rectangular space which is the farmyard proper. Most usually the buildings form three sides of the yard, with the dwelling house forming one side and the outhouses forming two more, the fourth side being closed by a wall with a gate. Usually the building is not continuous, the elements being separate and connected by walls, or having gateways or passages between them. The size and arrangement of the yard and the various buildings vary from one farm to another, and also from district to district; the general type is, however, well established, and conforms to a pattern which is clearly distinguished from the other types to be described later. In many districts the front of the dwelling house faces the farmyard, thus, in Co. Kildare in 1807: "The farmhouses in general consist of a long thatched building of one storey, consisting of a large kitchen and fireplace in the centre, and lodging rooms at either end; the front door looks to the barns and stables on the right, behind which is the haggard, and on the left are placed the cow and bullock houses." This, written a century and a half ago,[4] exactly describes many of the farmyards of to-day, for example that shown in fig. 1, which has the dwelling house in the middle, the cowhouse, calf-house and a small store (formerly a dairy) on the left, with the manure heap behind them, while on the right are the stable, another store and the pigstye, with the haggard, where the hay and corn stacks are made, behind them. The fourth side is formed by a stone wall, with a gate; this wall fronts on the public roadway. This farmyard is at Duncormick, Co. Wexford, in the south east corner of Ireland, but similar examples may be found in almost every part of the east and south. Figure 2 shows the buildings on a larger farm, also in Co. Wexford. Here the entrance gate leads in between a cart shed on the right and the dairy on the left, with the pump close by. Facing the dwelling house across the yard are the stable and byre and a store, while the corn barn opens into the haggard. The pigsty and manure heap are in the part of the yard most distant from the dwelling house. The openings between the various buildings are closed by stone walls about

[Text continues on p. 12]

[1] Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926. Stationery Office, Dublin, 1930.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Freeman, T. W.: Ireland, Its Physical, Historical, Social and Economic Geography, 1950, chapters VIII and XVIII to XXIII.

[4] Rawson, T. J.: Statistical Survey of the County of Kildare, 1807, 14–15.

four feet high, with gates suitably placed. A door in the back of the dwelling house leads into a garden and orchard. In both these examples the front of the dwelling house is towards the yard, but in very many examples the back of the dwelling house is towards the yard, which is reached by a back door, while the front of the house faces a small garden with flowers and fruit trees through which a path leads to the front door. This is especially common in east Munster. Figure 3 shows the buildings on a smaller farm in the south-eastern part of Co. Galway. Here again we have a courtyard formed by buildings on three sides and a stone wall with a gate on the fourth, but the courtyard is divided into two parts by another wall which protects the portion in front of the dwelling house, which is a little garden with flowers and shrubs, from the animals which pass through the yard.

In the smaller farms of the north and west there usually are fewer buildings, and these are often joined together in one continuous row, as in the example shown in figure 4, on a small farm in Co. Tyrone, where dwelling house, stable, byre and a store form one long block of buildings. Here, the elements are clearly distinguished from each other—the byre and stable are more roughly built, with poorer roof timbers and thinner walls, than the dwelling house, while the store at the other end is narrower than the dwelling house and has a lower roof. Indeed most examples of this well-known and widespread type have the dwelling house clearly distinguishable from the outhouses; thus they must not be confused with the "long-house" of Wales, of which the distinctive feature is internal communication between the byre and the dwelling.[1] In contrast to this, there is no such internal communication in this Irish type, as each house, stable, byre, store and so on has its own entrance door, and very often the dwelling house and byre do not adjoin, but have a stable, store or dairy between them. But, as we shall see below, there is—or was until recently—a primitive form of the "long house" or combined dwelling house and cattle byre to be found in certain parts of Ireland.

Another farmyard form to be found in parts of the north and west, and especially in the hill districts and peninsulas of west Munster, is shown in fig. 5. Here the outhouses are built in one continuous row, and placed a short distance away from, and parallel to, the dwelling house; the space between the dwelling house and the outhouses serving not only as a yard but also as a passage between the public road and the farmer's fields; this yard or passage is, in many districts, called the "street".

In addition to these various farmyard types, there may be found farms in which the buildings are not arranged in any set plan, but are scattered about in a haphazard fashion, sometimes without any yard; these occur but rarely in fertile lowlands but are not infrequent in mountain and moorland localities, such as parts of the Kerry mountains.

It cannot be doubted that the system of having separate compartments or buildings for the different kinds of animals and stores is of considerable antiquity in Ireland. The law tract *Crith Gablach*, written about A.D. 700, states that the *bó-aire febhsa* (a certain grade of land owner) must have, in addition to his dwelling house and a share in a corn-mill, a kiln, a barn, a sheep-fold, a pigsty and a calf-pen.[2] Another ancient law tract[3] refers to five "houses", namely, dwelling house, cow-

[1] Peate, I. C., The Welsh House, 1940, chapter IV.
[2] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. IV, Dublin, 1879, 309.
[3] Ancient Laws of Ireland, vol. V, Dublin, 1901, 515.

house, pigsty, calf-pen and sheepfold, and there are several other references in the ancient law tracts to cow-houses and pigstyes.

But, notwithstanding this old and varied farmyard tradition, it is also quite clear that there was, up to the beginning of the present century, a widespread custom of keeping the livestock, or part of it, in the dwelling house. There are very many references to this in descriptions of life and conditions in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Few, however, give any description of the internal arrangement of the houses, or the reason for the custom, and usually the accounts refer to small houses and a few poor animals. Some observers have mentioned the fear of wild beasts or robbers. "They are brought in by night for fear of thieves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for fear of wolves."[1] Here the writer refers to the bawns attached to the castles, but of course the same risk existed for the small farmer also. Another traveller writes of a night spent in a house in west Co. Galway: "I had just compos'd myselfe to sleepe when I was strangely surprised to heare the cows and sheep all comeing into my bed chamber. I enquired the meaneing and was told it was to preserve them from the wolfe which everie night was rambling about for prey."[2] Another and much later writer describes a night spent in a small house in the Kerry mountains, near Kenmare: "In the house where I slept—as indeed in every house of the same character in the county—the whole stock of the family, consisting chiefly of cows and sheep, were locked in at night. Such was the extreme poverty of the people that they would not otherwise be safe. ... There was a slight partition between the room where my bed was and the kitchen where there were three cows, a man, his wife and four children."[3]

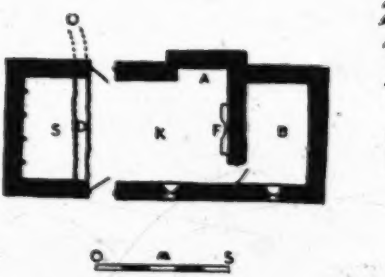

Fig. 10 House at Doolough, Co. Mayo. A, bed alcove; B, bedroom; D, drain; O, drain outlet; K, kitchen; F, fireplace; S, byre.

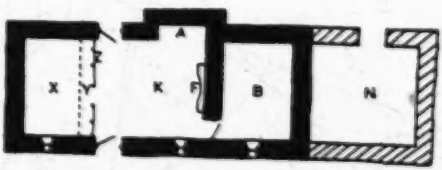

Fig. 11. House at Srahataggle, Co. Mayo. A, bed alcove; B, bedroom; K, kitchen; F, fireplace; X, former byre; Y, filled-in drain; Z, screen of canvas on wooden frame; N, present byre.

In many dwelling houses fowl, especially hatching hens, were kept in special coops or boxes, and it was quite usual to have weak or sickly young animals, or calves or lambs which for some reason were separated from their dams, in the kitchen where they had warmth and attention until strong enough to be put with the other animals. In many parts of Ireland the poorest people—

[1] Fynes Morrison: Itinerary, 1617.
[2] Dineross, John: Letter no. 2 (1699), in MacLysaght, E.: Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century, 1939. 339.
[3] Downey, M.: The Felon's Track.

231 351 361 those who had little or no land—commonly kept their animals in the dwelling house (which often had only one room) at night, a cow or two, or perhaps a donkey or pony, a pig or a goat and a few hens, the larger animals tied to pegs or rings set in the walls, the smaller in coops or boxes. In many houses, even large farmhouses, a special coop or perch was provided for the cock, whose crowing served to call the people of the house in the morning. A vivid description of the housing conditions of a remote and isolated community in the second half of the nineteenth century is given by Tomás Ó Crohan, writing about the Blasket Islands off the coast of Co. Kerry in the extreme south west: "There was a coop beside the partition with hens in it, and a hatching hen in an old pot nearby. At night a cow or two, a calf or two, an ass, two dogs tied to the wall or loose about the house. ... the two or three dogs would lie at the foot of the bed, the cow or two cows below them, tethered to the wall, the calf or two with the run of the kitchen and their muzzles in the fire. The ass was tied on the side of the house opposite the cows, and a cat with a couple of kittens in the fireplace niche ... And as well as all the other animals you might find a pet lamb or two about the house."[1] The custom of bringing the cattle into the dwelling house for milking during the period of the year when they are kept outdoors, as well as keeping them in the dwelling house during the winter period is recorded from Co. Kerry.[2] Indeed it is quite clear that, throughout the west and north of Ireland, the keeping of livestock in their small dwelling houses by the poorer people was quite a common practice up to the last years of the nineteenth century, and in houses from which the animals have long been ejected we may still see the rings or pegs to which they used to be tied.

342 351 361 231 There was, however, one type of house which was built and arranged as a dwelling for both people and animals, and which was still in use in the early years of the present century in parts of Connaught and Ulster, that is, in west Co. Galway, Co. Mayo, west Co. Sligo and west and north Co. Donegal. Figure 10 shows the plan of a typical specimen, at Doolough, Co. Mayo. This house is 12 m long and 5.5 m wide, built of stone and mortar and roofed with straw or grass thatch. It consists of two apartments, the smaller being a bedroom and the larger a kitchen-livingroom-cattle byre; the two apartments separated by the wall of the hearth. On one side of the hearth is a bed alcove. Two windows, one in each room and both on one side—the front—of the house, give light, and there are two doors, one in the front of the house and one in the back, placed directly opposite each other. On the farther side of these doors from the fire an open drain extends from side to side of the house; this drain is about 50 cm wide and 25 cm deep and is lined with flat stones. The space between this drain and the end wall of the house is the byre, and here, during the winter, three or four cows were kept tethered to the wall. The drain passed under the wall and led to the manure heap outside.

Figure 11 shows the manner in which many of these houses were changed during the last fifty years or so. A byre was built, attached to the house, as here, or quite apart from it. The drain was filled in, and a partition of wood, or, as here of canvas stretched on a wooden frame, erected to enclose the former byre which now became a bedroom. In many houses the partition was formed

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[1] Ó Crohan, Tomás: An tOileánach, chapter III.

[2] Campbell, Arr: "Irish Fields and Houses", Béaloideas, V, 68–70.

or partly formed by one or more large pieces of furniture, such as a dresser and a cupboard or press.

While recorded instances of this type are, as we have seen, confined to comparatively small areas of the west and north west, there is little doubt that identical or similar forms were once more widespread in Ulster, Connaught and parts of west Munster, where a strong folk-memory of the regular stalling of cattle in the lower end (the end farthest from the fire) of the kitchen still exists, and where one common house type has the two opposite doors and the lower end cut off by a partition of light material, as in the reconstructed house shown in figure 11. In Leinster and east Munster, in contrast to this, there is little or no tradition of cattle in the dwelling houses, and there is here a form of house in which the relative positions of the entrance door, hearth and hearth wall[1] would make the bringing of a large animal, such as a cow, into the house very difficult and in many cases quite impossible.

A recent article has shown that while the dispersed settlement pattern now dominates almost the whole of Ireland, there were formerly, and to a little extent still are, certain definite areas of village or group settlement type.[2] This, however, does not mean that a distinctive type of farmyard pattern is to be found in such groups or villages; on the contrary, the farmyard type in them is the same as that in the adjoining areas of dispersed settlement. Thus, the groups or villages of east Co. Galway and south Co. Kilkenny are formed of farmyards of the courtyard type, those of west Co. Kerry of the parallel type and those of west Co. Mayo and north and west Co. Donegal of the dwelling house-cum-byre type.

The middle of the twentieth century sees the Irish farmyard, in common with many other elements of rural life, in a stage of transition. On many farms new outhouses, especially new cattle-byres, are being built; in others new dwelling houses have been built, and the old dwelling houses refitted as byres, stores or stables, thus quite changing the aspect of the farmyard. The dwelling-cum-byre type of the north west has virtually disappeared, and in a few years will be no more than a memory; the extended type, in which dwelling house and outhouses form a long block of buildings is also disappearing.

[1] Ó Danachair, Caoimhín: "Hearth and Chimney in the Irish House", Béaloideas, xvi, 102, 104.

[2] Flatrès, P.: "L'Habitat Agricole Aggloméré en Irlande", Chronique Géographique des Pays Celtes, 1954, 113–24.

were not new, but had, in fact, been made by the shoemaker himself for the dead man, who had worn them only once before his death. The dead man's wife had apparently thought that it was not necessary to order a new pair of boots to be made. The shoemaker had, however, promised the dead man to have the matter set right, so he quietly sent a message to the dead man's wife next day about his dream. She immediately ordered a new pair of shoes to be procured, and these were worn at Mass, along with the rest of the outfit, until the traditional rule had been fully observed.

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A friend of mine in the parish of Clanlawrence in County Cork told me the following story to illustrate how carefully the details of the practice must be observed. A woman in that parish had a son who died. She got a new suit made for him, to be worn at Mass on the three Sundays after his burial, and on the Saturday evening prior to the first Sunday she laid the suit (as Mrs. Healy had done when my uncle had died) on the back of a chair in the kitchen, sprinkled it with holy water, and called on the dead son to come for them. Having next placed them at the threshold of the kitchen, she finally left them for a short while in the yard, and sat by the fire for a moment, presumably to allow the dead son to come for the suit. Suddenly she heard something being thrown against the door and, on investigating, she found that it was the new waistcoat. She then remembered that she had deliberately refrained from putting her dead son's watch in the pocket, intending to keep it as a memento. Needless to say, she immediately put the watch in the waistcoat pocket and replaced the garment on the chair in the yard. There was no further disturbance.[1]

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[1] For general references to the custom mentioned in 1, see: När Döden Gästar, Louise Hagberg, Stockholm, 1937, pp. 331–379. Also, Über Krankheit, Tod und Jenseitsvorstellungen in Irland, Hans Hartmann, Halle, 1942, pp. 11–115; and Der Totenkult in Irland, by the same author, Heidelberg, 1952, pp. 15–17, 183.

[113]

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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STUDIES OF IRISH RURAL SETTLEMENT

JAMES H. JOHNSON

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UNTIL recently it was generally thought that isolated farms, dispersed over the cultivated land (Fig. 1), formed a settlement pattern of great antiquity in Ireland. Without investigating the matter deeply, academic geographers explained this pattern in several ways. Some saw it as a product of the pastoral emphasis of Irish agriculture, which necessitated a close relationship between a farmer's residence and his fields.[1] Others, especially Meitzen, regarded the dispersed farms as a direct result of the Celtic heritage of the country.[2] And although professional geographers preferred a cultural explanation, school textbooks tended to seize on an environmental factor, seeing dispersed settlement as a product of the moist Irish climate, which required no concentration on wet-point sites and presumably allowed the cultural factors free play.[3]

Contemporary Studies

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Work by modern geographers on the critical study of Irish rural settlement began in County Donegal. Here E. E. Evans[4] showed that, in parts of the county at least, the single isolated farm is a relatively recent form of settlement, which dates from the nineteenth century rather than survives from any great antiquity. Modern dispersed settlement in Donegal was in fact preceded by "clachans"—clusters of farm dwellings and their associated outbuildings, usually grouped without any formal plan and in the early nineteenth century often consisting of as many as 30–40 houses. Although these clachans normally lacked both inn and church, communal life and the exchange of services were characteristic, and as a rule their inhabitants were related by blood.

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[1] A. Demangeon: La géographie de l'habitat rural (International Geographical Congress, London and Cambridge, 1928: Report of the Commission on Types of Rural Settlement, pp. 41–80), p. 59.

[2] August Meitzen: Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen (3 vols. and atlas, Berlin, 1895), Vol. 1, pp. 174–182.

[312] [3] The advantage of universal water supplies in Ireland is more apparent than real. In parts of County Fermanagh, for example, farmers must carry drinking water hundreds of yards to their dispersed farms (cf. J. M. Mogey: Rural Life in Northern Ireland [Oxford, 1947], pp. 35–36), when nucleation around the most satisfactory supply would seem to be a logical arrangement. Personal observation suggests that this is a not uncommon situation on many Irish farms.

[113] [4] Some Survivals of the Irish Openfield System, *Geography*, Vol. 24, 1939, pp. 24–36; Donegal Survivals, *Antiquity*, Vol. 13, 1939, pp. 207–222.

▶ Mr. Johnson is Lecturer in Geography at University College, London.

[p.554]

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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FIG. 1.—Panoramic view of dispersed farmsteads near Carrinure, County Armagh, looking west along the drumlin belt of north Ireland. (Photograph by J. K. St. Joseph, from Cambridge University Collection. British Crown Copyright reserved.)

361 McCourt[5] has been able to map the distribution of relicts of clachan settlement as they were to be found in the 1830's. He has shown that this was a widespread form of settlement in Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century, and that it did not disappear in the remoter parts of the country until late in the nineteenth.[6] Indeed, occasional clachans that are still actively functioning can be found today on the Atlantic seaboard (Figs. 2 and 3[7]).

311 361 Associated with clachan settlement was a form of open-field cultivation, comparable to the Scottish infield-outfield system and generally known in

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[5] D. McCourt: The Rundale System in Ireland: A Study of Its Geographical Distribution and Social Relations (Thesis, Ph.D., Queen's University, Belfast, 1950).

[6] D. McCourt: Traditions of Rundale in and around the Sperrin Mountains, *Ulster Journ. of Archaeol.*, Ser. 3, Vol. 16, 1953, pp. 69–84; idem: The Rundale System in Donegal: Its Distribution and Decline, *Journ. County Donegal Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1955, pp. 47–60.

[7] The author thanks Captain C. Ó Danachair of the Irish Folklore Commission for drawing his attention to the photograph presented as Figure 3.

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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Ireland as "rundale" or "runrig."[8] Under rundale the land surrounding a settlement was worked as a joint farm, with individual plots and strips scattered through the arable land, some on the constantly tilled infield and some on shifting outfield patches reclaimed periodically from the waste.[9] By the early nineteenth century this form of agriculture had become extremely complicated, as a result of the rapidly increasing population and of the Irish practice of subdividing a restricted amount of arable land among all the male heirs of the household. In modern surviving examples the clachan and cultivation in rundale are closely interrelated, and it is generally assumed that they do not function independently. But a complication to this interpretation has emerged in a small area of County Down that has been examined by R. H. Buchanan[10] within the limits set by the available manuscript material. Here a set of estate maps shows clachans apparently developed in association with compact holdings. Although this work, which refers to a small area and uses a narrow range of information, may not weaken the great body of evidence that suggests a direct relationship between rundale agriculture and clachan settlement, at least it indicates that the relationship needs to be carefully appraised in each individual case.

Two Nineteenth-Century Investigators

Although changes in the pattern of Irish rural settlement have only recently been uncovered by research, the periodic reports of the various Royal Commissions concerned with nineteenth-century Ireland make it clear that the inhabitants of the country were not unaware of the changes taking place around them.[11] Hence it is not surprising that at least two nineteenth-century scholars, Frederic Seebohm and August Meitzen, knew of clachan settlement.

Seebohm's attention was focused on the manorial and tribal systems and on the open-field system of cultivation.[12] It was this latter interest in particular

[8] D. McCourt: Infield and Outfield in Ireland, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Ser. 2, Vol. 7, 1954–1955, pp. 369–376.

[9] Flatrès believes that the outfield was not widely found in Ireland but was a late introduction, brought in the early seventeenth century by Scottish settlers (Pierre Flatrès: Géographie rurale de quatre contrées celtiques—Irlande, Galles, Cornwall & Man [Rennes, 1957]). No attempt has been made here to evaluate Flatrès' ambitious study; of particular interest, however, is his map of the modern field systems of Ireland (Fig. 1). [Reviewed in this number of the *Geographical Review*, p. 599.—Edit. Note.]

[10] The author is grateful to Mr. Buchanan for this information in advance of its publication.

[11] In particular see the evidence presented to the Devon Commission (Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry [Lord Devon, Chairman] into . . . the Occupation of Land in Ireland [6 parts (in 5 vols.), London, 1845; British Parliamentary Papers 1845, XIX–XXIII]).

[12] Frederic Seebohm: The English Village Community, Examined in Its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of Husbandry (2nd edit., London, 1883).

[Text continues on p. 558]

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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and arable use of land.[17] Further, Meitzen does not seem to have been aware of the widespread distribution of the clachan and its associated field system. In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that Meitzen was not entirely wrong. Recent work suggests that Celtic freemen in Ireland lived in dispersed farmsteads (known to archeologists as "raths"),[18] though this does not establish that modern dispersed settlement was directly derived from such a heritage, particularly in view of the unsettled history of Ireland during the intervening period.

A Problem in Origins

Moreover, the two forms of settlement—*Einzelhöfe* and clachans—are not necessarily incompatible. Both McCourt and Evans have commented on the way in which clachans wax and wane,[19] largely because of fluctuations in population numbers. Indeed, McCourt cites at least one example from County Antrim in which an individual farm grew into a clachan between 1782 and 1832, and two of the clachans Evans studied in Donegal dissolved into isolated farms sometime between 1834 and 1902.[20]

The problem here seems to be one of origin. Did the clachan bring the infield-outfield system with it, or were the two separate at this earliest stage? If they were separate, it would suggest that their modern survival together on the Atlantic fringe of Ireland may be the result of the independent preservation of ancient practices in a difficult region. For that matter, was the clachan introduced? Examples have already been given of the growth of nucleated settlements from dispersed farmsteads, often in a very short time, and in view of the clachan's lack of plan this manner of origin seems entirely reasonable.

On the other hand, merely to say that the settlement pattern and the field system grew out of the subdivision of a larger enclosed farm is to oversimplify the problem. Meitzen postulated a Celtic people with a tradition of compact farms; but if subdivision took place, surely it would have been a break with that tradition to produce small farms with scattered strips rather

[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 207–218.

[18] V. B. Proudfoot: The People of the Forths, *Ulster Folklife*, Vol. 1, 1955, pp. 19–26. See also his "Settlement and Economy in Co. Down from the Late Bronze Age to the Anglo-Norman Invasion" (Thesis, Ph.D., Queen's University, Belfast, 1957).

[19] McCourt, Infield and Outfield in Ireland [see footnote 8 above], p. 376; Evans, Some Survivals of the Irish Openfield System [see footnote 4 above], p. 28.

[20] McCourt, The Rundale System in Ireland [see footnote 5 above], diagram 27; Evans, Some Survivals of the Irish Openfield System [see footnote 4 above], p. 29; E. E. Evans: The Ecology of Peasant Life in Western Europe, *in* Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth, edited by W. L. Thomas, Jr. (Chicago, 1956), pp. 217–230, reference on p. 231.

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

than small compact holdings. A further indication that there may have been a fundamental distinction between the systems which is not apparent at first sight lies in the fact that, wherever the historical record goes back continuously into the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, both settlement forms are found to have existed side by side in the same areas and over the whole period.[21] No case is yet known in which an area with nothing but dispersed farms was converted into an area where clachans were completely dominant. Hence, drawing an analogy from Wales, where G. R. J. Jones[22] has carefully examined more plentiful medieval documents than have survived in Ireland, Evans has been led to suggest that the dispersed Iron Age farms (the "raths" referred to above) were the homes of freemen; and bondmen, the descendants of pre-Celtic inhabitants, lived in clachans. Later, in historical time, both groups fell under the control of landlords, but remnants of the former situation survived in the settlement pattern.[23] Some confirmation of this theory has come from Proudfoot's work in County Down, where he has been able to show that raths were not the only form of settlement during the Dark Ages; there were also groups of farms without an enclosing bank, which could be dated to the same period.[24] Such an interpretation regards clachan settlement as being of great antiquity, and indeed it is hard to believe that the cooperative kinship unit (which life in a clachan implies) is other than of considerable age. Further, it suggests that the fundamental antithesis was between systems of landholding, rather than between settlement patterns.

The infield-outfield system also seems to have been an early introduction. It could be suggested, of course, that the system represented an adaptation of the medieval three-field system to the small amount of good arable land available in many parts of Ireland. Medieval agriculture on an English pattern had been introduced into southeastern Ireland by the Normans; and a medieval origin has been suggested for some villages in Wexford, formed of groups of strip farms, which were still functioning in the nineteenth century.[25] But even if this can be firmly established, the Norman influence on agriculture was limited to the southeastern part of the country. In any case, the modern

[21] McCourt, Infield and Outfield in Ireland [see footnote 8 above], p. 376.

[22] G. R. J. Jones: Some Medieval Rural Settlements in North Wales, *Inst. of British Geogrs. Publ. No. 19: Trans. and Papers 1953*, London, 1954, pp. 51–72.

[23] Evans, The Ecology of Peasant Life in Western Europe [see footnote 20 above], p. 231. Earlier, Duignan had tentatively suggested a similar idea but did not relate it to the development of settlement patterns (M. Duignan: Irish Agriculture in Early Historic Times, *Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 74, 1944, pp. 124–145; reference on p. 129).

[24] Proudfoot, Settlement and Economy in Co. Down [see footnote 18 above].

[25] J. Otway-Ruthven: The Origin of Anglo-Irish Agriculture in the Middle Ages, *Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 81, 1951, pp. 1–13; reference on p. 6.

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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survivals of the infield-outfield system in the remoter parts of Ireland would seem to suggest that it dates from a time much earlier than that of the Norman invasion.

Lines of Investigation

These questions and theories widen the field for speculation, but it is difficult to see where to turn for further information, largely because of the meager documentary evidence that survives in Ireland from periods earlier than the eighteenth century. Admittedly, relevant material may be discovered among estate papers, but there are three other lines that might be followed with profit.

One possible approach, field investigation, is illustrated by a project now under way, in which archeological techniques are being used to excavate a clachan in County Down, inhabited until the late nineteenth century. The primary aim is to discover how this particular clachan originated. Did it grow out of a single farm, and, if so, at what date? Two seasons' work has now been completed without conclusive answers to these questions, though some details have been added to the local economic history of County Down.[26] At least it has been shown that a clachan settlement stood on this site about 1780 and that the site had been occupied from sometime near the end of the fifteenth century, if not earlier. Buildings were found underlying the nineteenth-century structures. The fact that some of these remains appear to date from a time before the immigration of Scottish and English settlers into the area in the early seventeenth century should prove important in the study of Irish house types, since the lack of evidence on the development of settlement patterns extends also to the history of individual farm buildings.[27]

Whether this particular excavation will yield further information about

[26] J. H. Johnson, V. B. Proudfoot, and R. H. Buchanan: Excavations at Minerstown, Co. Down: Preliminary Report on Work Completed in 1956, *Ulster Journ. of Archaeol.*, Ser. 3, Vol. 21, 1958. (In press.)

[27] Pioneer work on surviving house types was carried out by A. Campbell (Irish Fields and Houses: A Study of Rural Culture, *Béaloideas*, Vol. 5, 1935, pp. 57–74; Notes on the Irish House, *Folklife*, Vol. 1, 1937, pp. 207–234, and Vol. 2, 1938, pp. 173–196). This has been developed in a series of local studies so that a comprehensive account of the surviving forms of Irish traditional building is becoming increasingly possible. The best and most recent general account is E. E. Evans' "Irish Folk Ways" (London, 1957, with an extensive bibliography), Chapters 4 and 5. Several important articles on house types and related topics have appeared recently; for example, C. Ó Danachair: Irish Farmyard Types, *Arctica: Studia Ethnographia Upsaliensis No. 11*, 1956, pp. 6–15; A. T. Lucas: Wattle and Straw-Mat Doors in Ireland, *ibid.*, pp. 16–35; C. Ó Danachair: Stand und Aufgaben der Hausforschung in Irland, *Berichte über die Arbeitstagung des Arbeitskreises für Deutsche Hausforschung*, Schleswig, 1955, pp. 29–30; R. H. Buchanan: Thatch and Thatching in North-East Ireland, *Gwerin*, Vol. 1, 1956–1957, pp. 123–142; and C. Ó Danachair: The Bed Out-Shot in Ireland, *Folklife*, Vols. 19–20, 1955–1956, pp. 26–31.

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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settlement patterns is somewhat doubtful. There is a reasonable chance of eventual discovery of the origin of settlement on this site, but from the beginning it was realized that only by good fortune would the relation of the clachan to other settlement forms, in particular the Irish raths, be uncovered. However, since relatively little of a substantive nature is known about Irish peasant life until as late as the end of the eighteenth century, any information on the material culture of the inhabitants of this site will be of value. There does not seem to be great hope of uncovering any field systems that may have surrounded the settlement, but similar work elsewhere might be more fortunate.

Place-name evidence provides a second, if somewhat tentative, line of investigation. For instance, J. B. Arthurs has suggested that *baile* (bally), the Gaelic word for home place or townland, may be of pre-Goidelic origin, and that where "ballys" are numerous, indigenous people had been left mainly undisturbed by the Goidelic expansion.[28] If this can be firmly established, it will immediately suggest a parallel with the possible dual system of landholding previously mentioned, particularly since the names of many surviving clachans contain the element "bally." Certainly there is need for further research on this topic.

Aerial photography offers a third line. Irish archeologists have long been aware of its importance[29] and have illustrated excavation reports with photographs taken from the air; but, except locally, this method has not yet been employed systematically in the study of Irish rural settlement. If suitable photographs were available, it is likely that they would illuminate the history of fields and farms in Ireland. At the least a detailed study of the available air photographs would guide further field work on the ground.

Disappearance of the Old System

Such methods of investigation can only hope to produce a few clues in what must be an exercise in detection; and, in a sense, it is some relief to find that the factors involved in the final disappearance of the infield-outfield system and its associated settlement pattern are somewhat clearer than the earlier history of these features. The regional details, however, still remain obscure, since the enclosure of the open fields in Ireland required no parlia-

[28] Quoted in Evans, Irish Folk Ways [see preceding footnote], p. 27.

[29] D. A. Chart: Air-Photography in Northern Ireland, *Antiquity*, Vol. 4, 1930, pp. 453–459; J. Raftery: Air-Photography and Archaeology, *Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 74, 1944, pp. 119–123. Proudfoot (Settlement and Economy in Co. Down [see footnote 18 above]) used air photographs in his study of County Down, as did the government-sponsored archeological survey of the same county.

[113]

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
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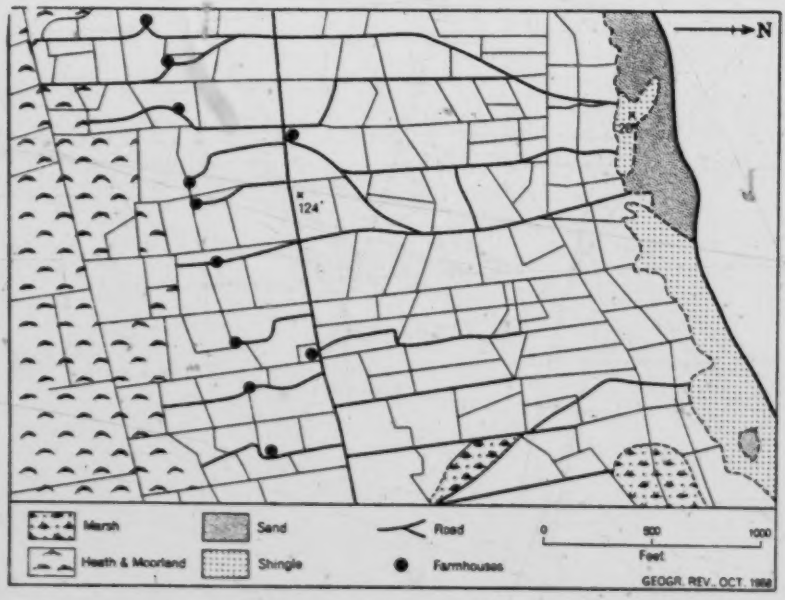

FIG. 4—"Striped" farms and fields in County Kerry. (Based on the Ordnance Survey, by permission of the Minister of Finance, Republic of Ireland.)

mentary authorization. Although it is rarely possible to obtain information on the methods and precise date of consolidation, the destruction of the system can be explained, in broad terms, by its growing inefficiency and by the dissemination of new agricultural techniques.

Some of the unsatisfactory aspects of rundale agriculture sprang from the steady growth of the population of Ireland, which continued from sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century until the Great Famine of 1845–1847.[30] This increase led to a constant encroachment on various uncultivated areas, a process in which the general adoption of the potato as a subsistence crop played a major part.[31] But the "waste" lands brought under cultivation had not been completely unused, since often they were grazed by livestock under a well-developed transhumance.[32] This seasonal movement was important to the rural economy, because efficient rundale farming required that the animals be removed from the unfenced cultivated strips during the growing

[30] K. H. Connell: The Population of Ireland, 1750–1845 (Oxford, 1950).
[31] *Idem*: The Colonization of Waste Land in Ireland, 1780–1845, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Ser. 2, Vol. 3, 1950–1951, pp. 44–71.
[32] J. M. Graham: Transhumance in Ireland, *The Advancement of Sci.*, Vol. 10, 1953–1954, pp. 74–79.

[Text continues on p. 565]

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

season; and the end of transhumance made the working of the system more difficult. Similarly, the increase of population led to a remarkable growth in the size of many clachans, which often made life in them increasingly inconvenient. Squabbles over rights of way and other petty affairs were common, and there was a growing awareness that the old methods of farming were becoming unsatisfactory. The introduction of new crops and rotations gave the *coup de grâce* to the efficiency of the system; for they were difficult to integrate into it, and therefore agricultural improvement was retarded.

The impetus behind the changes, however, usually did not come from the farmers themselves but from their landlords. Indeed, it seems possible that peasant resistance to the destruction of rundale was a considerable factor in nineteenth-century opposition to landlordism.[33] Often landlords, intent on improving their estates, would put whole areas of land into the melting pot, consolidating holdings and sometimes evicting the surplus population. Frequently the new holdings were arranged up and down the slope of the land, an arrangement that has resulted in the characteristic striped appearance of much of the modern Irish landscape. Although long, narrow strips were probably not the best possible farm shape (Fig. 4), they represented a compromise between the traditional system of allocating each farmer a share of every quality of land and the landlords' demands for greater efficiency. At the same time the old clachan groups were broken up and new farmhouses were built, each within its own land. In such a way most of the better agricultural land was converted, but at the end of the nineteenth century various areas, particularly in the west of Ireland, still remained under the old system or some modification of it. This hard core has now been largely eliminated by government action. First the British government attempted a general improvement of living conditions in western Ireland by means of the Congested Districts Board, whose work included the reorganization of agricultural holdings (Fig. 5);[34] after 1922 and the establishment of the Irish Free State the task was taken over by the Irish Land Commission.[35]

In some areas, however, the disappearance of clachan settlement was part of a natural process in the late nineteenth century. The population of Ireland started to decrease after the Great Famine of the 1840's, and even in areas where there had been little rearrangement of holdings some clachans became

[33] See, for example, the Devon Commission Report [see footnote 11 above], Part 1, Appendix 14, p. 58.

[34] T. W. Freeman: The Congested Districts of Western Ireland, *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 33, 1943, pp. 1–14.

[35] On this aspect of the Land Commission's work see "The Consolidation of Fragmented Agricultural Holdings" (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Washington, 1950), Chapter 3, "Relief of Rural Congestion in Ireland."

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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considered that the abundance of wild white clover, on the seeds of which chickens and young turkeys feed, was another contributory factor. Of the goat it can be said that it is often the poor man's milk supply and supplements the cow on many small farms just as the ass replaces or supplements the horse. But the ass is in fact quite rare in many parts of the country, for example in Donegal, and is regarded with contempt, whereas the horse, as befits its important role since prehistoric times, is held in high regard and is kept by small farmers often as much for the sake of prestige as for its use. "If they have three acres," says a Government Report of last century, "they think they must have a horse." The strength and speed of the Irish race horse have been attributed to the bone-building qualities of limestone pastures: the great breeding and training ground is the moraimic waste known as the Curragh of Kildare, but throughout the country there are many districts where, for geographical or historical reasons, horses of quality are bred for export and for the delight of the crowds at local race-meetings. Readers are referred to Dr. Dudley Stamp's *Agricultural Atlas of Ireland* (1931) for further information on agricultural distributions.

Fig. 9. About 10 ft. high.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

342 oval in plan: the problem of the origin of the hipped roof is discussed in Chapter 9. It should be realized that there are many transition types, and of course slated houses are rapidly replacing the old styles, but the division into upright gables and hipped roofs is fundamental. Dr. Campbell's pioneer work in this field has met with a hostile reception in some quarters: [113] see for example Mr. Colm Ó Lochlainn's review in *The Irish Book Lover*, January, 1940.

Within these broad divisions there is endless variety of construction, internal lay-out and roofing technique. Of special interest is the projecting bed-wing, the "outshot" or "cailleach" (Fig. 19), which is attached to gabled houses throughout the north-west from Co. Derry to Co. Galway. It may be compared with the "half-neuk" beds of the Orkneys and Faroes, and has its parallels too in the wall-beds of the Hebridean black-houses. The device allows the large bed (6 ft. by 4) to take its traditional place at the fire-end of the house without unduly narrowing the all-important space around the hearth. The bed recess is cut off from the room by curtains or, formerly, by hanging straw mats.

342 231 Single-roomed kitchen byres, where the family occupies the top or hearth-end and cattle the other, are now a thing of the past, but a few examples have survived in their original state, with an open drain crossing the floor and emptying at the side of the door. The custom of taking the animals under the family roof was once prevalent over north-western Europe in regions of difficulty where access to the cattle in all weathers was a determining factor. Tenacious usage rather than poverty ensured its survival into recent times, where the mutual advantage of the custom is summed up in the phrases, "the cow keeps the house warm," and "warmth increases the yield of milk." Two other points should be borne in mind, its relation to the system of booleying described in Chapter 5, and the necessity in former times of protecting the precious animals from wild beasts.

342 As a rule the bottom or byre-end was later converted into a dairy, store or spare bedroom, but the principal bedroom,

10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Inishbofin

stated by some to be an Anglicized form of a well-known Irish tribe name; the seven remaining surnames seem to be modern English. 174

Of the 212 families now living on the islands 20[1] have surnames of modern English or Scottish origin—29 Anglo-Norman or Welsh, 22 are Scuffles, 17 Lavelles, and the remaining 134 bear more or less Anglicized forms of old Irish names. It may be concluded from this that the population is, on the whole, not much mixed with any element which might not be expected to be found in western Connaught.

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[1] Including the landlord's.

10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894
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EXPLANATION OF PLATES VIII. AND IX.

Plate VIII.

142 Fig. 1.—James Joyce, aged 48 years, No. 5, Middlequarter.

291 Figs. 2 and 3.—Anthony Lavelle, aged 35 years, No. 2, Knock.

Fig. 4.—Group of men, Inishbofin.

Taken in order from left to right, the names are, respectively:—

Back row.—John Burke, boatwright; Michael Halloran, king of Shark; John Tierney, postman; Mick Kerrigan, weaver; Redmond Toole, fisherman.

Front row.—Martin Baker, John Malia (or Malley), Ned Burke, Redmond Toole, all fishermen.

Fig. 5.—Group of women, Westquarter, Inishbofin.

Taken in the same order as the other group, the names are—Margaret Ward, Nancy Browne (first cousins), Nelly Holloran, Mary Holloran (daughter of last), Brigid Concannon.

Plate IX.

412 Fig. 1.—Quern still in use in Middlequarter, Inishbofin.

283 Fig. 2.—Spinning wheel in Middlequarter.

296 Fig. 3.—Method of washing clothes, Church Lough, Knock.

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Kilmore

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NOTE.—The late Dean Lyons, of Kilmore, the well-known archæologist, had written the history of Erris, but died without publishing it. The MS. is now missing, but was until lately in the possession of the Rev. James Durcan of Bangor, Erris.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

(*From Photographs, by* C. R. & J. M. BROWNE.)

PLATE XV.

1. Group of men at Muingcrena, Mullet. Taken in order from, left to right, the names are:—
   Back row—Patrick Toole, James M'Cormack, Patrick Padden James Dixon, No. 50; J. Lavelle.
   Front row—Francis Coyle, No. 47; Hugh Cafferky, No. 46; Anthony Lavelle, No. 51; H. Joyce.

2, 3. Anthony Dunleavy, aged 60 years, Emlybeg, No. 13.

4. William Gaughan, aged 28 years, Emlybeg, No. 12.

5. —— ——, ——, No. 41; Richard Cane, No. 40. Both from Fallmore, a small village at the southern extremity of the peninsula of the Mullet.

PLATE XVI.

6. Group of men from Iniskea.

7, 7a. Michael Cawley, aged 41 years; South Iniskea, No. 4.

8. Philip Lavelle, aged 33 years; North Iniskea, No. 1.

9, 9a. Patrick Cawley, aged 40 years; South Iniskea, No. 3.

PLATE XVII.

10. Group of men and boys at Portacloy. The figure on the extreme right shows the dress of the younger boys.

11, 12. William Bourne, aged 33 years, No. 34, and —— Bourne, both from Portacloy.

12: Freeman K-5 (1954) 1958
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Inishbofin

[p. 202(B)]

121 IRELAND'S decline in population has been made possible by the [167] availability of work elsewhere for her people. This article deals with one of the poorest and most isolated districts of the country, an island off the [434] west coast which, for over 60 years, has received government help in various forms, as well as money from relations in America and in Britain. And the [794] island, Inishbofin, has a reasonably contented community not untypical of many in the west of Ireland, all of them Roman Catholic in religion and depending on the priest for the main leadership. Emigration continues, but those left behind and those who return to the island have a leisured way of

*The material for this paper was partly collected during a visit with the Geographical 114 Society of Ireland in July, 1954. The author visited about half the houses on the island of 124 Inishbofin, and for one-quarter of the 96 households recorded the numbers of the household, information on those who had emigrated, the area of the farm, number of stock, methods of selling produce, and other sources of income, such as fishing or work on the roads. Within this range the answers were generally reliable, but no direct financial inquiry would be fruitful and on Inishbofin the number of sheep was [578] almost invariably understated as there are jealousies between households about the use of commonage (see p. 205). In one case a farmer [231] told the writer that he had "half-a-dozen sheep or so" but the following morning he had 23 lined up in his field for the dealer to see. It was impossible to resist the comment over the garden wall, "A fine lot of sheep this morning."

Other aspects of Inishbofin are discussed [113] in three articles in *Irish Geography*, Vol. 3, 1956, pp. 123–135, by J. P. Haughton, T. Jones Hughes, and J. A. K. Grahame.

12: Freeman K-5 (1954) 1958
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[p. 202(c)]

[21] living rarely encountered in the modern world. As will be shown later, however, the island people maintain their simple but not uncomfortable way of
[433] living only by help from outside: if one believes that every inhabited area must make its economic contribution to the state, Inishbofin is a debtor on a considerable scale.

[67] "A small and dwindling population
[657] maintain a precarious existence on the Atlantic fringe of our industrial society and present upon the whole an aspect of decline and, in some parts, of dereliction." In these words the Scottish
[659] crofting report[1] names a problem, common alike to the Atlantic fringe of Ireland and of Scotland, which was investigated by two Congested Districts Boards, in Ireland from 1891–1923[2] and in Scotland from 1897–1911[3]; in both countries the powers of these boards were transferred to the general administration of agricultural affairs. One by one the islands off the west coast of Ireland are being abandoned[4] but on Inishbofin this prospect does not seem immediate: past and present government assistance has resulted in a planned

[113] [1] Department of Agriculture for Scotland, Report of the Commission of enquiry into crofting conditions. H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1954, Cmd. 9091, para. 281, p. 87.
[2] For a general treatment, T. W. Freeman: *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 23, 1943, pp. 1–14.
[3] Cmd. 9091, 1954, para. 265, p. 81.
[4] T. W. Freeman: *Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 120, 1954, p. 332.

[p.204(c)]

133 here, but the original memoir[7] states
that the rocks are mainly schists and
gneisses, dipping at sharp angles of
30°–89°, much broken by faults and
seared by sills and dikes. In short, it
is a characteristic pre-Cambrian area.
314 Peat several feet deep is found in the
basins between the numerous small hills.
Many people cut "scraws," that is, the
surface layers of the rough pasture.
This time-hallowed practice, noted with
disapproval by the Congested Districts
Board inspectors 60 years ago,[8] in-
creases year by year the area of exposed
rock; it may well be that throughout
the peat-consuming areas of Ireland—
and of Scotland also—this has hap-
pened.[9] As one observer put it, "every

● [113]

[7] Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Explanatory Memoir . . . sheets 73 and 74 (in part), 83 and 84, Dublin 1876, pp. 39–42.

[8] Congested Districts Board, Base Line Reports, Clifden district, 1891 (and many more such comments in other reports).

[9] F. Fraser Darling: West Highland Survey, London, 1955, pp. 43, 67, 272–276. See especially an interesting survey of what (in Scotland) is called "skinned land" in Lewis by M. Macdonald.

[Text continues on p. 205(B)]

231 the calves born each year are normally
439 kept until they are two years old, when they are sold either to dealers on the island or to visiting dealers from the mainland. No cattle are slaughtered for meat on the island at present as it pays better to send them on to the fairs at Clifden. The dealers wait for a favorable opportunity of selling the stock and the farmers agreed that these arrangements were far better than individual visits to the fair by the difficult route described on p. 203. The policy
654 of grading up stock, favored by the
232 Congested Districts Board,[12] has been highly successful; there are accredited bulls of the Hereford and Aberdeen Angus breeds available on the island.
234 No butter is sold and little is ever
437 bought. As one of the islanders put it, "You wouldn't understand our ways, sir. If we have a bit of butter over, there's sure to be someone who can do with it, so we just let them have it."
236 Sheep are kept in large numbers and pastured on the common lands; there are probably at least 1000 sheep owned by the farmers on this island. The sheep are sold to the butcher for the island's only meat supply, or to dealers for eventual sale on the mainland, and the wool clip is sold to a Dublin firm which sends a representative to the island in September. No pigs are kept,
231 nor any goats, and each farmer has only
[235] a few fowls since there is no way of selling eggs or chickens; only a small number of people have geese, ducks, or turkeys. During the 1914–1918 war, eggs were sold at 3d. each for export, but transport difficulties and the failure to develop any marketing scheme have long since extinguished the trade. The lack of pigs, which may seem surprising,

[12] W. L. Micks: An account of the constitution, administration and dissolution of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland from 1891 to 1923, Dublin, 1925, pp. 27–33.

[p. 206(B)]

228 1914–1918 war both the curing stations were used. The first of these was built by Mr. Allies about 1892 and the second by the Board in 1897.[13] In 1898 during the mackerel fishing season, as many as 75 carts a day passed along the hilly road from Cleggan to Clifden with some 1000 boxes of fish to be sold in Dublin[14]; and in 1912, 8754 cwts. of mackerel, valued at £2211, were landed at Cleggan.[15] The fishermen were "the best and most practical . . . on the west coast" in 1892;[16] today, a large number of men have a curragh (made for £30) and fish for the family, but only four hookers, each manned by five men, are now used in the white fish trade. In good years a man may make £50 or more by trapping lobsters and crayfish, which are stored in tanks in the harbor and in Bofin Bay, then taken for a month's feeding in a vast tank near Cleggan, and finally conveyed over a hundred miles by lorry to the Shannon airport for air transport to Paris. The fishermen receive £3 5s. a (baker's) dozen for crayfish, weighing 5–6 lbs., or £1 15s. for a dozen lobsters, weighing up to 3 lbs. From May to September pots are set round the coasts—a long basket is set for crayfish and a smaller one for lobsters. Some of the dozen or so men in this trade make their own with osiers specially grown, but pots are also supplied by the merchant or made by carpenters. Other marine resources are negligible, though carrageen moss is sold to an agent at 5/- a stone. This naturally gelatinous product, used to make a kind of blancmange, is collected from the rocks between February and August. It is possible

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[13] Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 7th Report, 1898, H.M.S.O., Dublin, Cmd. 9003, p. 23.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[15] Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 20th Report, 1912, Cmd. 6353, p. 80.
[16] C. R. Browne: *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[p. 207(B)]

12: Freeman K-5 (1954) 1958
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Inishbofin

[561] sixteen are in a similarly formless cluster.

167 Emigration has entered deeply into the fabric of life: in 1841, Inishbofin
161 with Inishark had 1612 people, but ten years later there were only 1047. A rise to 1236 in 1861 and 1262 in 1871 was followed by a drop to 997 in 1891, when there were 215 families of whom one-quarter were said to be "very poor."[18] Steadily the population declined, to 510 in 1936, 406 in 1946, and 341 in 1951, and now less than 300 (including 40 in Inishark). One-quarter of the families were interviewed in 1954; of these only one-third were "normal families" of parents with children. In the school there were only 29 children aged 5-14, whereas the normal figure would be 48. On Inishark there are now only nine able-bodied men, six of whom are needed to man a boat seaworthy in winter, with the result that an epidemic might be disastrous. Permanent emigration to Britain, or, if possible, to America, is favored by the young and adventurous. Even in 1893 seasonal emigration to Britain as harvesters or domestics was declining,[19] though a number of people went to America for several years, saved money, and returned to the islands. A large proportion of the people have spent several years in the United States. In many cases a family has its older relatives in America, its younger ones in Britain.

Conclusion

657 Having reviewed the economic geography of this island certain conclusions emerge. First, the present relative comfort of the population has been made possible only by past and present government assistance bestowed with lib-

[113] [18] Congested Districts Board, Base Line Reports, Clifden district, 1891.
[19] C. R. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

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182 The world at large is not interested in the particular ante-
551 cedents of a man and the islanders recognize this in their
611 use of surnames with the outside world. The old 'family' or clan names placed a man in his wider kinship group in the days when this was important—it no longer matters today. Within the community the naming system described above distinguishes a man from other men and places him in his immediate kin group. It helps to establish his descent. Research in small communities in Western societies may reveal similar systems serving similar ends but based on different diacritical criteria.[8]

Notes

113 [1] J. M. Synge, *Four Plays and The Aran Islands*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 263f.

[2] Brief ethnographical details of Tory Island can be found in J. R. Fox, 'The Vanishing Gael,' *New Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1962.

551 [3] The second and subsequent names, when in Gaelic, are in the genitive. Some English names are Gaelicized and given a genitive form. I make no claims for the correctness of the spelling of the names given here (Irish spelling is pretty fluid), except that they are the forms recognized by literate islanders. I could not have made any headway with the Tory naming system and genealogies without the patient help of Máire Nic Fhlaithbheartaigh bean Aodha Uí Dhubhghain, Pádraig Óg Mac Ruadhraigh, and Aodh Ó Dubhghain.

[115]

[4] See Synge's comment on the use of the surname and the 'Mac' prefix. In the 'ceremonial' names on Tory both Mac and Ó are used, but when a surname is included in the 'personal' set, these prefixes are not usually used.

[5] This could be Paddy-John Uí Fhlaithbheartaigh—roughly Paddy John O'Flaherty. The pronunciation would be the same.

551 [6] A fuller analysis of the structure and functions of these descent
611 groups is in preparation. They seem to be mainly concerned with landholding—as a consequence of the equal division of land amongst all a man's (or woman's) heirs, and the system of keeping land in trust for migrants. Their other functions lie mainly in the sphere of mutual support amongst members in times of crisis.

[7] This distribution could only occur by chance in one sample out of 20: $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4{\cdot}30$: $p = < {\cdot}05$.

551 [8] The Welsh system of stringing ancestral names together with
171 'ap' is obviously similar to the Tory method, but the Welsh, I believe, used only male names. Mr. Andrew Dunsire tells me that in some Scottish coastal villages a man will be known by the boat he owns, his children inheriting this epithet. In some working-class communities which I know in England a system similar to that on Tory operates. A man may be known as 'Mary's Tom' and his son as 'Mary's Tom's Johnnie,' etc. Synge notes the use of occupations as marks of distinction in Wales and comments on the lack of occupational differentiation on the Aran Islands which makes this method impossible. In some rural communities a man is known by the name of his farm. W. M. Williams in *The Sociology of an English Village* (Routledge, 1956) gives examples of this. See also his fascinating discussion of Naming and Family Continuity, pp. 79–82 and 229f. The contrast with the Tory system is marked, however, in that one can, in Gosforth, move from 'side' to 'side' in choice of names—both surnames and Christian names being used.

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

revival of a moribund language, and spearheaded by charismatic political, literary, and clerical figures.[2] A nativistic movement is a conscious, organized attempt by the members of a society to revive or perpetuate selected elements of its indigenous culture under conditions of acculturation with dominance. Such a movement provides the members of a society with psychological compensation for the frustrations engendered by cultural subordination; the revived forms come to symbolize the real or imagined freedom, unity, greatness, or happiness enjoyed by the people in precontact times, while the perpetuated elements become symbols of the society's existence as a unique entity, culturally distinct from the superordinate society. As the result of assimilating the values of the alien culture, a subjugated people will come to denigrate certain of their indigenous customs and will refuse to revive or perpetuate them, and sometimes they will exalt "racial" or personality traits assumed to be characteristic of their ancestors.

Although earlier influenced by Fenianism and the Gaelic Athletic Association, the nativistic movement in Ireland gained its full momentum with the formation of the Gaelic League in 1893 and shows few signs of waning today, more than four decades after the achievement of independence. The objectives of the league are to preserve the Irish language and extend its use as the vernacular, to further the study of medieval and modern Gaelic literature, and to encourage the cultivation of a contemporary literature in Irish. Spurred on by the formation of the association with its many local branches, Irish newspapers were established and Gaelic texts published which were read widely; Irish customs were revived, particularly in the esthetic and recreational aspects of culture; and Irish legends and history came to be "glorified."

> The language led inevitably to other things, to Irish music, Irish customs and traditions, Irish place-names, Irish territorial divisions, Irish history; it emphasised the separateness of Ireland as nothing else could; it brought with it national self-respect, a feeling of kinship with the past, the vision of a persistent and continuing tradition going back beyond human memory. The Gaelic League was not alone a re-discovery of the language but a re-discovery of the Nation, a resurrection of the Gael (an unidentified quotation from Inglis 1965:195–196).

Whereas the revivalistic emphasis of the nativistic movement has been on language and literature, the perpetuative emphasis has centered on religion. Since the fifth century, Ireland has been a predominantly Catholic country, and from the time of the Protestant Reformation religion gradually has become part of the warp and woof of the antagonism between the Irish and English. The basic differences in religion came to be fused with other national animosities, mainly political and economic in origin, and Catholicism emerged as one of the significant symbols of Irish uniqueness and superiority in the acculturation process.

It is readily apparent that the Irish have been extremely selective in their

[2] The next few pages and Chapter 1 will draw heavily on Irish history. I recommend to those readers not well acquainted with the Irish past two brief histories: Sean O'Faolain's *The Irish: A Character Study* and Brian Inglis' *The Story of Ireland*. The definitive longer works are Edmund Curtis' *A History of Ireland* and J. C. Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603–1923*. The final chapter of the O'Faolain volume and Part III of the one by Inglis deal with Irish nativism.

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

fireplace has a profound psychological significance in Inis Beag and, in a sense, is a force drawing the family together. Now that only three hookers transport peat from the mainland—when in the past there had been more than a hundred—and the price of turf increases considerably year by year, coal or bottled gas stoves are being used by most families. Although coal and gas are cheaper to burn, and coal throws out more heat than turf, the coal fire in the hearth does not foster camaraderie as does the peat fire. The replacement of fireplace by stove and the "stink" and dirtiness of coal are denounced incessantly by the islanders, and the disappearance of the "sweet smell" of burning sods and a multitude of customs associated for generations with the peat fire are lamented.

Many functions are served by "the room." It can accommodate the displaced parents after their son has married, if all agree, for it has a bed which can serve them (as well as distinguished guests, spectators at parties, and now tourists and summer language school students). This chamber is the best kept of the house, with the newest and most valuable of the furniture and often a linoleum floor, and its walls and ceiling are whitewashed or painted frequently. Family heirlooms and objects of sentimental value, which are parted with only as a last resort, are found here. Religious pictures adorn the walls, and on the mantel over the fireplace are photographs of the family going back generations, especially of those who have emigrated or are deceased. When "the stations" are performed every two decades in the cottage, the mass is read in "the room," and certain rubrics used in this ritual are afterward kept here. Finally, the chamber serves as a dance floor when the crowd at a party in the house overflows the bounds of kitchen, hall, and street.

The social universe of the islanders is divided into four segments: close kin or "friends" (Previously, I have used this word in the American sense.), distant kin or "those I have a relationship with," other islanders, and outsiders or strangers. "Friends" normally extend generationally to include ego's parents, grandparents, children, and grandchildren, and collaterally to include his affines (spouse's kinsmen), siblings, and first, second, and third cousins—termed, respectively, "four-of-kin," "six-of-kin," and "eight-of-kin."[1] With the intensification of inbreeding, most of the folk are eight-of-kin, and this is why the parish priest examines the genealogies of families at the time of the match. Marriage between first cousins is forbidden, between second cousins demands permission from the bishop, and between third the consent of the parish priest. Distant kin are relatives extended collaterally beyond eight-of-kin, while outsiders include the curates, teachers who are not islanders, lighthouse keepers, the Dane, tourists of local renown, and, as I have just indicated, even in-marrying women and descendants of recently arrived immigrants (also, of course, inquisitive anthropologists).

Although inheritance and succession are patrilineal on the island, descent is bilateral—traced through both agnatic (father's) and uterine (mother's) lines --with a strong agnatic bias.

[1] These positions are pictured horizontally (generationally) and vertically (collaterally) in block form in Arensberg and Kimball 1940:96 in the chapter "Kinship System." The Irish kinship system is common to peoples of Western Europe and America (the Eskimo type), and much of the kinship information reported by Arensberg and Kimball applies to Inis Beag.

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Recommended Reading

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DANAHER, K., 1962, *In Ireland Long Ago*. Cork: The Mercier Press.
The author is a member of the Irish Folklore Commission, and presents in this book a series of 26 short essays on facets of traditional Irish folk culture, with special emphasis on the economic aspect and material culture. Six of the closing chapters deal with balladry, factionalism, marriage, and the wake and funeral.

———, 1966, *Irish Country People*. Cork: The Mercier Press.
This volume, a companion to the other, is a collection of 20 more vignettes. Of particular interest to my readers are "Tall Ships," "The Currach Men," and "The People of the Sea." Danaher's two books are literary as well as folkloristic works, and suffer only from the telescoping of historical epochs, a nonfunctional approach (common to folklorists), and occasional nativism and primitivism.

EVANS, E. E., 1942, *Irish Heritage*. Dundalk: W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press.
The two volumes of the author (The other, *Irish Folk Ways*, is listed in References.), like those of Danaher, focus on the economic aspect and material culture, and are illustrated profusely with drawings and photographs of scientific import. Evans is a geographer-folklorist-anthropologist at The Queen's University of Belfast—the only university in Ireland which includes ethnology in its curriculum. My readers will be interested especially in the last six chapters of *Irish Heritage* and the last four of the author's other work, which take up such subjects as wrack, boats and fishing, festivals, weddings and wakes, and non-Christian religious forms (termed beliefs and superstitions by folklorists). Throughout both books are numerous references to the many island communities of Ireland.

FLOWER, R., 1944, *The Western Island*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
This is an account of the author's experiences during holiday visits over 20 years to the Great Blasket Island off the Dingle Peninsula of Co. Kerry. Flower was an English scholar, spoke Irish, and composed the book from lectures delivered on Irish literature at the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1935. It is a literary tour de force and a source of ethnographic data, if the intense primitivism of the author is duly weighed.

HUMPHREYS, A. J., 1966, *New Dubliners*. New York: Fordham University Press.
Fr. Humphreys is a sociologist at Loyola University of Los Angeles, who studied peasant and Dublin families between 1949 and 1951. Although this volume deals mostly with family and class in Dublin, its first, third, and last chapters contain much material on Irish folk culture. The author addresses both the strong Oedipus complex in the family and puritanical Catholicism and their impact; however, he alludes to Augustinianism rather than Jansenism as the doctrine which inclines the Irish countryman "to a jaundiced view of sex" who "places a high premium upon continence, penance and . . . abstemiousness" (pp. 23–27).

MASON, T. H., 1967, *The Islands of Ireland*. Cork: The Mercier Press.
First published in 1936, this classic now in paperback reissue presents descriptive, historical, archeological, zoological, and some ethnographic data on a dozen of the inhabited islands off Ireland—including Tory, Achill, Clare, and the Blasket and Aran Islands. The author was a famous photographer, particularly of birds and wildlife, and an expert on Irish antiquities, while a Dublin optician.

MEENAN, J. and D. A. WEBB, eds., 1957, *A View of Ireland*. Dublin: Hely's Limited.
Twenty-one essays, written by eminent Irish natural and social scientists and subsumed under 12 chapters, make up this volume published for The British

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• 113 Association for the Advancement of Science. Chapters on archeology (by S. P. O Riordain and Francoise Henry), local traditions, and the Irish Language (by Myles Dillon) contain important articles on folklore (by James H. Delargy), place-names (by M. A. O'Brien), and folk life (by T. A. Lucas).

MULLEN, P., 1934, *Man of Aran*. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd.
Robert Flaherty filmed his famous documentary, *Man of Aran*, during 1932 and 1933, and the author served as his assistant. A native of Inis Mor, the largest of the three Aran Islands, Mullen wrote this book as an autobiographical account of his (and his neighbors') involvement in the filming venture. It is rich in dialogue, which many islanders feel best of all literary works captures their syncretistic English. The author now lives in Wales.

———, 1936, *Hero Breed*. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd.
The setting of this novel once again is Inis Mor, and the author sets down the most prominent features of the Aran way of life. Both of Mullen's works betray the exaggerations of pride and primitivism and neglect dysfunction, but this one best serves the self-image of the people, as many hold, although it is criticized locally for revealing pagan retentions. The author also published, in 1940, *Irish Tales* (London: Faber & Faber, ltd.)—a collection of folktales that he had heard as a youth.

NEWMAN, J., ed., 1964, *The Limerick Rural Survey*. Tipperary: Muintir na Tire Rural Publications.
This book includes five lengthy reports (the last by Fr. Newman) by Irish scholars, based on research done in Co. Limerick between 1958 and 1964 under the guidance of American and Dutch social scientists. It represents the first full scale study of the "developmental infra-structure of an Irish county." Its strength for my readers are the 15 chapters which make up the reports on demography and social structure (by Patrick McNabb), while its main weakness is a disregard for religious and psychological variables in accounting for certain phenomena.

O'BRIEN, J. A., ed., 1954, *The Vanishing Irish*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
The causes of "the fading away of the once great and populous nation of Ireland" (p. 3) are examined in this collection of 19 chapters written by 16 authors (Fr. O'Brien has four.). Jansenism and sexual puritanism are dealt with most effectively in chapters by Bryan MacMahon, Sean O'Faolain, Arland Ussher, and two by the editor. These themes and their consequences also are discussed in the polemical, but deeply insightful, *The Irish and Catholic Power*, by Paul Blanshard —listed in References.

O CROHAN, T., 1951, *The Islandman*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Complementing Flower's book on the Great Blasket Island are three written by islanders themselves, which are autobiographical in nature and of value to students of Irish folk culture: O Crohan's and those by O'Sullivan and Sayers. O Crohan's volume was published first in Gaelic in 1929, then translated into English by Flower in 1937—"the first attempt by a peasant of the old school . . . uneducated in the modern sense, though . . . trained in the tradition of an old folk culture, to set out the way of his life upon this remote island from childhood to old age (p. v).

O FLAHERTY, T., 1934, *Aranmen All*. Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles.
Like Mullen, the author was a native of Inis Mor and was stimulated by the film, *Man of Aran*, to write his two works dealing with the milieu there. The book is magnificently illustrated with stills from the movie and photographs taken by Mason. Part anecdotal and part imaginative in composition, it rivals Mullen's volumes in providing ethnographic materials.

———, 1935, *Cliffmen of the West*. London: Sands & Co.
Both of O Flaherty's books present sketches—some of them printed previously as newspaper features—of various segments of the Aran tradition at the turn of

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the century. They contain much folk English dialogue, as do Mullen's volumes, but are far less primitivistic in orientation than the latter. All writings of Blasket and Aran islanders emphasize ideal rather than real culture. 113 •

O'SULLIVAN, M., 1957, *Twenty Years A-Growing*. London: Oxford University Press.
Four years after O Crohan's book was published, this work appeared in both Irish and English, and in 1935 was revised by its translators, Moya Llewelyn Davies and George Thomson. It is a series of vignettes, as *Aranmen All*, rather than a life history, as *The Islandman*, which ends when the author as a young adult leaves his home to become a policeman on the mainland, where he died in 1950.

SAYERS, P., 1962, *An Old Woman's Reflections*. London: Oxford University Press.
The author, who married into the Great Blasket Island from a community on the nearby coast, was a famous *scéalaí*—rare among women—known as "the Queen of Gaelic story-tellers" (p. ix). In this volume, translated from Irish by Seamus Ennis, she recounts anecdotes from her colorful life. Writers and critics argue among themselves as to the relative literary merits of this work and those by other unschooled islanders of Ireland; but most agree that O Crohan's has no peer, an opinion with which I tend to agree. As to depth of insight into Irish folk culture and personality, however, I would choose *Twenty Years A-Growing*. To the ethnographer, the chief value of Sayers' book is that it presents a "woman's-eye view" of things Irish.

SYNGE, J. M., 1966, "The Aran Islands," *J. M. Synge Collected Works*, Vol. 2, A. Price, ed., London: Oxford University Press, pp. 45–184.
John M. Synge, most famous as a playwright, spent five months during summers from 1898 to 1902 in the Aran Islands. Out of his experiences there came *Riders to the Sea* and plots of other plays, as well as this chronicle of the local culture of Inis Meain—the middle Aran isle—published in 1907. Although an exceptional work of art, it suffers from primitivism, a lack of concern for the importance of Catholicism in the lives of the folk, and the projection of the author's tragic view of life into his interpretations. An excellent appraisal of Synge as a folklorist is found in Bauman 1965.

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Austin Clarke, and Patrick Kavanaugh, and such younger ones as William Murray, John McGahern, Edna O'Brien, John Broderick, Brian Moore, and Benedict Kiely. Irish reviewers of the writings of the younger authors often criticize them for portraying an Ireland of the distant past. But, although conditions there are changing quite rapidly, sexual repression is still a force active enough to command the attention of creative artists and social scientists.[9] The subtle influences of nationalism, religion, and sexual puritanism were very apparent in the revisions suggested by most of the twenty-six "unbiased" scholars of Irish descent—in Ireland, England, and America—to whom I submitted the first version of this article for comment.

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[9] I am confident that one of the major "lines of attack" on my ethnography by Irish nativist reviewers will be that the community described is atypical and conditions in urbanized Ireland no longer bear any resemblance to those in Inis Beag. Since 1957, I have been much criticized by African elitists for describing in my writings a primitive culture which they claim is no longer characteristic of that developing continent.

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